1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business papers and account books are kept has become in recent years a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a father to hand over executive control much earlier than custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the father's position and difficulties. During the last years of a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the family, they guard most carefully against any public expression of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts, and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old people in the community. They are respected if they have led honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended [584] family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

* * *

593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 596 [588] domestic affairs or not. Sitting for most of the day at the hearth with her various grandchildren around her, the mother becomes the physical and moral centre of the extended family, while the father, if he is still alive, is now a genial nonentity.

* * *

593 858 Parenthood brings to a man or woman joy and pride, but also anxiety. It is often said, 'Children bring worries' (ἔχουν στενοχώριες τὰ παιδιά). The quality of this worry which besets Sarakatsan parents is nicely reflected in the literal meaning of στενοχώρια, a narrowness of space or insufficiency of room. It is both the desire to do more for children and the lack of means which prevents this, and the relative helplessness of a parent in the face of the various physical and spiritual dangers which surround a child.

593 888 Sons and daughters, for their part, recognize that 'bringing up a child has many troubles and cares', and this is an important element in the belief that a father or mother, even in extreme senility, cannot be repudiated. The obligation to support aged parents is absolutely binding on children. But just as the regard of a father for his children was conditional upon their conduct, so in his old age the affection and respect he receives from his children is qualified by their judgement of him as a good or bad parent. On the other hand, a mother's love is always unconditional: and equally so are the attitudes of care and devotion to her in the last years of her life. She toils without thought of self. A mother 'sacrifices herself for her children', it is often said. In return she has an absolute right [596] to be mistress of the extended family household of her married sons; and after the separation of the brothers she has a further right to the services of the wife of her youngest son.

593 828 858 Parents and children not only have categorical obligations towards each other but they are morally identified. The responsibility for the wrongdoing of a child is in part referred back to his parents. In general, evil children must have been born of evil parents and, vice versa, wicked parents beget wicked offspring. In illustration of this idea that children share the moral virtues and weaknesses of their parents, Sarakatsani explain that 'The apple will fall under the apple tree' (τὸ μῆλο

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his
● [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pro-
[684] nounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ulti-
593 mate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn,
584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable
[578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common
[827] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the
[627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate
person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes
[624] a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

transcended the inferiority of her sex and becomes the focus of her sons' co-operation within the extended family, or later in a group of autonomous households. Only she is able successfully to mediate and contain the conflicting loyalties of married brothers.

It is clear that the various difficulties between parents and children are all related in some degree to the necessary involvement of the individual and his family in the community's system of prestige values. When the child begins to play a representative role outside the family the father has to educate and discipline it in a way that puts a considerable strain on a small boy or girl. An adolescent son in adopting the prescribed attitudes of manliness becomes abrupt to his mother. The adult 'pallikari' is particularly sensitive to his public reputation for honour and self-assertion, and it is this that bedevils his relations with his father. Thus the peculiarly clear-cut complementarity of the parental roles has to do with the fact that when the relation of a child (particularly a son) to one of his parents is strained, the relation to the other parent is one of positive attachment and identification.

In this complex of family roles and relationships the ties between parents and children represent the core of the system. The categorical obligations of parents towards their children are the values underlying the isolation of the family. They are values which in the popular mind are supported by their reference to a divine model, to the unmotivated love of God, to the patient devotion of the Mother of Christ. But sons and daughters must also be educated to conformity with the system of values of the wider community which makes demands even on small children; requires self-discipline and self-assertion in youths; and places young men and their fathers in competitive opposition while the former advance to adult status and independence. Throughout this process of development the moral solidarity of the family must remain unbroken. And this, in effect, is the achievement of the complementary structure of the two parental roles and their reciprocals.

It seems that there are three important contexts in which the stability of family relations may be threatened by conflict from within. In the first case, the integrity and solidarity of the family is destroyed when a female member willingly

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14.
Zagori

μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on this common stock according to the needs of his status and situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters, which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother. It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in emergencies.

As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the family property ought to occur before all the daughters have been married with dowries which represent their share of the commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share in the flock and any other property which the family may own. One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and this property passes with them into the family of the youngest son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half share is retained for his or her support. When the old people eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden. The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age, which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will not claim this share until he is married and the father of children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth. Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate crime such as incest or fratricide.

We can see from these facts that in principle the father and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

888 156 577 [593] After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs, which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is dignified but quiet (ἥσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 884 582 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 577 884 831 It follows from what has already been said about the relations between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibilities permits the young man to live according to the values of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

885 828 577 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 596 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of [406] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [447] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 577 554 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com- [831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 754 [955] But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these [784] cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [794] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [823] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
197 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/Women's Apparel/

/105 cont./

291
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Fig. 89

291 10th On the head the women wear a veil the color of which, as well as the manner of knotting it changes according to circumstances and the individual status. As a rule, the young girls wear white veils up to the age of 18 years. After that age the veil is printed with white flowers on a black background. Only the women in mourning and old women wear black veils. /106/

[53]
[765]
[888]

301 11th In order to conclude the presentation of the women's apparel it is suitable also to enumerate the ornaments: first the necklace which, in most cases, is made up of several strands of gold coins. Then come the earrings, the jewelry ornamenting the head veil, the brooch for the collarette, all of silver.

Moreover, the belt is closed with a clasp made of two pieces of engraved solid silver which sometimes weighs several kilograms. Finally, silver chains crossing the chest are embellished with multi-

/237 cont./

577 12

2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f.

said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic 577 relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 831 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [834] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [171] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward [888] [604]

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we